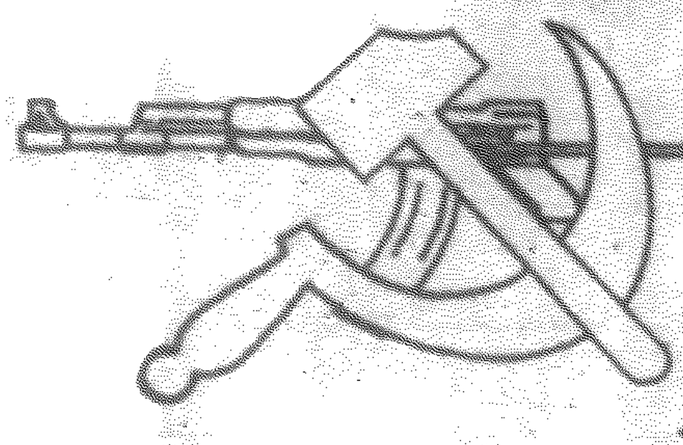
PAHAYAGAN NG PARTIDO KOMUNISTA NG PILIPINAS
PINAPATNUBAYAN NG
MARXISMO - LENINISMO - KAISIPANG MAO ZEDONG

ANG Bayan



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10th NPA ANNIVERSARY: WIN MORE VICTORIES!

The determination to win more victories in the armed struggle was expressed by the revolutionary people on the 10th anniversary of the New People's Army last March 29.

In guerrilla fronts and zones throughout the country, as well as in towns and urban centers, units of the Party and revolutionary army traced the progress of 10 years of people's war, and pledged to exert their utmost efforts for the further advancement of the national democratic revolution in accordance with the correct line laid down by the Party.

Right in the U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship's citadel of power--Manila-Rizal--the revolutionary masses boldly celebrated the NPA anniversary.

To the consternation of the fascist regime, revolutionary slogans suddenly appeared on walls, electric posts and public vehicles before and after March 29 proclaiming the red-letter day.

Slogans like "Long Live the New People's Army!", "NPA, the People's Army!", "Join the NPA Now!" emphasized that armed struggle is the only way to overthrow the hated U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship. Other slogans like "Marcos, Hitler, Dictator, Puppet!", "Down with Martial Law!", and "Armed Revolution is the Answer to Martial Law!" heightened the revolutionary enthusiasm of the people, who now thoroughly reject their exploitation and oppression by U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism.

Taliba ng Bayan, revolutionary newspaper in Manila-Rizal, discussed the contributions that the revolutionary forces in the cities can make to advance the work of the New People's Army in the countryside.

The revolutionary mass movement in the cities can do this by developing the revolutionary underground movement and anti-imperialist mass movement, by sending selected cadres and activists from the ranks of workers and students to organize in their native towns and barrios, and by collecting arms and ammunition for the Red fighters, the newspaper said.

"By having an extensive and stable underground movement, we can effectively combine legal, illegal and semi-legal work," Taliba ng Bayan said. "The aim of these activities must be, first, to serve people's war in the entire nation directly or indirectly; second, to advance the all-sided development of the forces of the revolution, particularly the working class; and third, to prepare conditions for the massive people's uprising in the future and the arrival of the people's army," it added.

Central Luzon armed struggle

Meanwhile, in a statement issued by the Executive Committee of the Party regional organization in Western Central Luzon, the difficult beginnings of the New People's Army from 1969 were traced up to the present, with its radiant victories and great increase in strength.

From a few Red fighters and rifles on March 29, 1969, the statement said, the NPA increased the number of fighters and provided them arms.

The statement recalled the important role that Central Luzon played in the expansion of the revolutionary armed struggle from a single guerrilla zone in the second district of Tarlac to the expansion and

establishment of guerrilla zones in the five provinces of Western Central Luzon, as well as assistance rendered in establishing new fronts in other regions.

Closely uniting with the masses and correctly applying the principles of revolutionary guerrilla warfare, the people's army in Western Central Luzon reaped victories despite the hardships imposed by the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaigns.

By properly balancing propaganda and organizational work with military work, Party cadres in the people's army units are now building territorial Party organizations in many barrios and towns in the guerrilla fronts, from the branch to the provincial level.

This condition is enabling more and more army units to pay more attention to the military task of wiping out the enemy's armed forces.

Correctly using the tactics of advancing from the mountains towards the plains, and from the barrios towards the towns, "the NPA is gradually entering provincial town centers", added the statement.

In conclusion, the regional Party committee of Western Central Luzon called on the Red fighters to further steel themselves in the proletarian ideology and discipline to enhance their fighting capacity against the enemy and to win bigger political victories for the revolution.

Advancing from early subtetage

Even the cadres and members of the Party and the people's army who are now imprisoned by the fascist dictatorship joyfully participated in celebrating the NPA's great day.

Expressing their high morale and firm resolve to rejoin the mainstream of the revolutionary struggle, the political prisoners summed up the past weaknesses and victories of the people's army from 1969 in the midst of the fascist regime's continuous but futile attempts to stop the revolution.

They said: "The quantitative and qualitative development of the New People's Army and the revolutionary work in the countryside, as a result of continuing summing up of experiences, rectifying errors and shortcomings, and setting of advanced tasks now on the basis of progress that has been made--these support the assessment that we are now advancing from the early subtetge of the strategic defensive. The revolution is expected to progress faster and with the minimum repetition of errors and shortcomings towards the higher stage of the strategic defensive."

In conclusion, the imprisoned revolutionaries said: "Because it is a genuine people's army, the New People's Army will doubtless develop and grow in strength and at a given time will break free ferociously, propelled by the people's pent-up wrath, to annihilate the reactionary armed forces of the enemy. This is a truth that the enemy cannot evade no matter how it tries, now or in the future. The victory of the people's revolution is inevitable, as inevitable as the downfall of the oppressive state and social system."

* * *

FILIPINO WORKERS ARE SEVERELY EXPLOITED IN U.S. BASES HERE

The U.S.-Marcos regime played the hero in the simultaneous strike staged last March 23 by 22,000 Filipino workers in U.S. military bases and installations, notably at Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base in Central Luzon, and Camp John Hay in Baguio City.

Hogging the limelight, Marcos' labor minister, Blas Ople, acted the official protector of the workers' interests against exploitation and oppression by U.S. imperialism.

He claimed that the collective bargaining agreement (CBA) signed on April 12 was "fair and just", when all that the U.S. imperialists consented to give the Filipino base workers was a P400 bonus and P60 allowance.

But he kept silent on the workers' other just demands, which the American bosses--colluding with the reactionary Marcos regime--have been turning down despite the enormous benefits derived by U.S. imperialism from the latter's labor power.

At Subic, for example, Filipino workers are capable of repairing and cleaning 200 ships in one month. In one week, they can handle 62 ships. The number of ships repaired in bases in the United States in two months can be handled here in 22 days. So that as much as possible, regular repairs are made here where U.S. authorities save a lot of money by exploiting the workers. If not for the labor of Filipino workers on every part, machine and vessel, much of these would now be in the scrap heap.

Nevertheless, Filipino workers in U.S. bases in the Philippines get smaller wages than workers in bases abroad, as in Japan, Singapore and the U.S. For example, the maximum rate for a mechanic in the Philippines is P3.95 an hour. In Japan and in the United States, the minimum hourly pay of a mechanic is P30 (or $4) and P60 (or $8), respectively.

Discrimination against Filipinos

After four years of service, Filipino apprentices receive only P3.95 an hour. In the United States, apprentices get no less than P45 ($6) after only two years of cont'nuous service.

Even more infuriating is the discrimination suffered by Filipinos right in their own country. Still in Subic, American apprentices are paid n less than P9.38 per hour ($1.25), while the Filipino who actually teaches them the required skills gets only P3.64 an hour. Filipino supervisors, who get the highest pay among all Filipino employes in the bases, receive P15 an hour. American supervisors get P60 an hour ($8) to do nothing, the workers say, except to sit around and yawn while impatiently keeping watch over the Filipino supervisors.

Filipino workers are subjected to brutal treatment by the foreign exploiters, who beat them up, cuff them or hurl curses any time. They are subjected to indignities and body searches. If the Filipinos fight back, they are suspended on charges of "insubordination". Even in getting their pay from the bank on-base, they are allowed to use only the back door. Only Americans may use the front door. The better food is reserved for foreigners, while Filipinos eat the poorer kind, although they are the ones who cook and serve at the restaurants.

Exploitation and oppression of Filipino workers are not limited to the salary scales and benefits they receive. Two sets of laws are used against them, the U.S. Federal Law and the Bases Labor Agreement (BLA) which is based on the puppet regime's Labor Code.

The base authorities admit that because of U.S. extra-territorial rights (meaning that the bases are considered U.S. territory), American labor laws extend to all those they directly employ. At the same time, they insist that Filipinos are also covered by the laws of their own government. As a result, provisions in the Federal Law are not implemented if they are favorable to Filipino workers and they are not found in the BLA or CBA. The same arrangement goes for terms found in the CBA but which are not in the Federal Law.

Base trick workers

One example is the minimum wage set-up. The Federal Law provides for a minimum hourly wage of P19.87 ($2.65). But base authorities refuse to implement this. The "fair" basis for determining salary scales is to align these with the salary scales prevailing in the top 20 corporations in the Philippines, according to both U.S. and Philippine authorities.

Another example concerns forced and unpaid vacations. The Federal law says that employes may not be forced to go on leave of absence. But since there is no such provision in the BLA, the workers are made to stop working at any time even when they are not willing to do so.

Still another case is the interference of base authorities in questions regarding contract workers, who are bound by their respective CBAs. All matters concerning them, therefore, should be worked out between their union and the contractor. What actually happens is that base authorities are free to give them orders, punish them or kick them out. But when contract workers want better wages and more benefits, base authorities reject their just demands, saying they are not covered by Federal Law.

The base authorities have many other tricks up their sleeve when it comes to exploiting the workers. In fact, they follow the same policies as their puppet Marcos regime. For instance, they do not consider Sunday to be the workers' day of rest; those who work Sundays get no extra pay. Workers are kept on as apprentices so they don't have to be paid the wages of regular employes.

Strike at Ford

At the Ford Stamping Plant in Mariveles, Bataan, meanwhile, workers struck against their American bosses too last March 5. The plant turns out Ford vehicle bodies for export abroad.

The strikers, led by the Ford Ensite Workers Union, stopped production for two weeks. They did so because of the company's refusal to yield to the workers in the on-going CBA negotiation.

Union members sounded the fire alarm and shut off the compressor switches at the factory to signal the start of the strike.

The authorities call in PC goons from the 165th PC Company in Limay, Bataan, to break up the picket. When they failed to force the strikers to go home, the armed PC troops began picking them up and loading them on trucks bound for Camp Tolentino in the provincial capital, Balanga. But the other strikers accompanied their comrades to the military camp, giving them warm support.

A total of 417 strikers were jailed. They were given neither food nor water during the 18 hours that they stayed in the camp. Those who tried to fetch water were assaulted and cursed by the fascist troops. They were able to eat only when relatives brought them food.

The strikers received assistance from the masses who sympathized with them in the oppression they are suffering at the hands of the imperialist company. The masses contributed sacks of rice and fish to help feed those who were manning the picket lines.

The workers know that whatever the success they gain in a strike is not due to the reactionary government's concern but to their unity in struggle and the mutually supportive effect of all toiling people's struggles. They have proved that their unity and mutual assistance constitute a triumph of all workers. No one else can be expected to fight for their interests and their rights except themselves and other toiling people.

* * *

MISERY GROWS WILDER AS PRICES SOAR HIGHER

Many Filipinos, especially the toiling masses, have been reduced to eating lugaw (rice porridge) because of the successive and excessive price increases imposed by U.S. imperialism and its cohorts, the local ruling classes.

In the last few weeks, the prices of such daily necessities as rice, milk, sugar, cooking oil, soap and clothing material have risen sharply. So have the so-called "public services" such as transportation.

The U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship has served notice that electricity and water rates would also be increased. So will tuition fees in the coming school year.

The immediate cause of all these is the increase in the price of oil and gasoline imposed last March 24 by the fascist dictatorial regime of the U.S.-Marcos clique. This is the seventh such increase since the imposition of martial law in 1972.

On the very day that the new oil prices went into effect, bus and jeepney fares went up by as much as 50 percent. On that same day and in the days that followed, the prices of all commodities and services also went up.

At press time, the fascist dictatorship was admitting that the situation would further worsen in the weeks and months ahead.

Ang Bayan has found that the families of more and more workers--those whose wages are tied down to the legal minimum--are now eating lugaw. Otherwise they would be forced to eat regularly-cooked rice just twice a day.

Among the poor peasants, the staple is boiled kamote (sweet potato) when their meager rice supply is exhausted.

The last time the Filipino people were reduced to such poverty and hunger was during the Japanese fascist occupation of the country in the second inter-imperialist war (World War II).

P2 increase not enough

In the face of the current increase in the prices of goods and services, the fascist puppet Marcos has been boasting that the minimum wage is being increased supposedly to enable the people to cope with the crisis.

The minimum wage, he said, would be increased by P2 a day--from P11 to P13 for workers in Metro Manila, from P10 to P12 outside Metro Manila, and from P8 to P10 for agricultural workers in plantations.

The P2 increase is hardly enough to cover the increased transportation fares of workers and small employes. It is clear that their limited incomes would not suffice for the increased prices of other services and goods, now and in the coming months.

And if this is the lot of the employed earning the minimum wage, the unemployed and underemployed are far worse off. At last count, they numbered about 13.5 million Filipinos.

The connivance between U.S. imperialism and its fascist puppet Marcos was clear in the latest oil price increase, as it was in all such increases within martial law.

Through his captive mass media, Marcos has been placing the blame squarely on the oil-exporting Arab countries when it is the giant imperialist firms comprising the international oil cartel that have been making the most

excessive profits from the extraction, transportation, processing and sale of oil around the world.

The Arab nations have been explaining that they increased the price of their crude oil to get a fair share of the big profits of the U.S. oil cartel, and also to make up for the devaluation of the U.S. dollar with which their oil is purchased.

The imperialist cartel passed on the added price to the Philippines and other oil-importing countries and took advantage of the situation by increasing their profits further. This is what happened during the "crisis" of 1974 when Exxon (Esso) supposedly foresaw losses in its operations but ended up with a profit of $6 billion.

Marcos' partiality for imperialism, the comprador bourgeoisie and the landlords is also apparent in that while he and his imperialist masters increased the prices of oil and other commodities in March, the P2 increase in the minimum wage is not due until this month (April).

In the case of small government employes, a little increase in their small salaries is not due until May. These employes, who form a large part of the lower stratum of the petty bourgeoisie, are thus in great difficulties like the worker and peasant masses.

Artificial shortages

What is particularly despicable about the connivance among imperialism and the local ruling classes is their practice of hoarding commodities, among other manipulative devices, before increasing prices.

With the toleration and even encouragement of the U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship, for instance, the big bourgeois compradors have been creating a "shortage" of such goods as cooking oil, sugar, cement and other construction materials, and gasoline and diesel supposedly to prepare the people for price increases.

It is in this light that we must see the frequent power blackouts and the breakdown of such other "public services" as water and telephone. It is a certainty, and it has been admitted by Marcos himself, that electricity, water and telephone rates are about to be increased once again.

Oppressed as they are by rising prices, the suffering of the Filipino people is further intensified by ever-increasing taxes. For instance, the U.S.-Marcos fascist regime has increased real estate taxes by as much as 100 to 1,200 percent.

Owners of apartments and other dwellings are now passing on the burden to their tenants, thus aggravating the problems of wage-earners who have no houses and lots of their own.

While the U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship is intensifying its economic exploitation of the people, it is also aggravating their political oppression. In the midst of the spiralling prices, the regime has warned that it would not brook any complaints from the people.

The warning was made that it is "subversion" to trace the people's grave problems to their historic roots--U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism--and that it would imprison anybody complaining.

Intensifying repression

Along with this warning, the fascist dictatorial regime moved to enlarge further the parasitic Armed Forces of the Philippines and expand its paramilitary forces in its scheme to suppress the revolutionary masses.

Among these is the projected establishment of "barangay brigades" throughout the land. Seventeen "brigades" are being set up in each barrio, now officially called "barangay". Among these are the "barangay tanod" which, like the CHDF and the "posse comitatus", is made up mostly of goons and other criminal elements.

Deception takes a decidedly secondary role as the fascist regime intensifies the economic exploitation and political tyranny over the broad masses of the Filipino people.

The people are not daunted. In jeeps and buses, in marketplaces and in schools, in factories and offices, in gatherings among relatives and friends, the people are spontaneously and openly assailing and cursing the U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship and all the ruling classes that the regime embodies and represents.

And in the guerrilla fronts of the New People's Army as in white areas where the revolutionary movement is striking roots and expanding, the people are more spirited and resolute in supporting and joining the people's war being carried forward by the Party.

In a way, the fascist dictatorial regime of the U.S.-Marcos clique is of service to the people. As a teacher by negative example, it is showing the people that their suffering will end only with the overthrow of the entire reactionary state and the establishment of a people's democratic state.

As the Party Central Committee points out, the situation is more excellent than ever for the advancement of the national democratic revolution.

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TERROR TACTICS AREN'T WORKING AGAINST AROUSED MASSES OF PEOPLE

While the revolutionary movement surges forward and the U.S.-Marcos fascist dictatorship sustains heavier and heavier blows, the regime behaves like a mad dog in spreading terror against the aroused masses.

From the different regions, Ang Bayan has been receiving reports of the latest crimes of the fascist dictatorship against the people.

In Midsayap, North Cotabato, for instance, the masses strongly condemned the massacre of Moro civilians in Dumatog and Malingao, cities of that town, on November 14, 1978.

More than 20 people were killed and 35 others were seriously wounded when the reactionary air force bombed the two villages. Some 200 families whose homes and farms were devastated had to be evacuated.

To conceal its heinous crime, the dictatorship announced in its captive press that what it had bombed was "an encampment of more than 600 terrorists who had been raiding and plundering neighboring barrios". The dictatorship described the civilian victims as "terrorists".

The people were outraged by this lie. When they confronted military officials, the latter were forced to admit that the victims were indeed civilians. They also admitted that their target was one kilometer west of the Malindog Elementary School, outside Midsayap.

Still in Mindanao, the parish priest of Kalilangan, Bukidnon, issued a statement denouncing the crimes of puppet soldiers of the 54th, 55th and

57th PC Ranger Battalions. The statement demanded the punishment and removal of the fascist troops from Kalilangan who have been murdering, torturing and intimidating the people.

Identified in the statement to be among the most notorious of the puppet troops were Lt. Michael Silva, Sgt. Jess Intong, CIC Nelson Saclote, CIC Marcelo Elegarle, Alex Doctor, Roger Decanay and Dedong Decena, all of them with the 573rd Company of the 57th PC Ranger Battalion posted in Malinao, Kalilangan.

White terror in Cagayan

In Cagayan Valley, meanwhile, the regional mass newspaper Baringkuas, reported on some of the enemy's crimes in Cagayan province and the steps the people have been taking to stop these. Among these are the following:

-- In barrio Naddungan, Gattaran, 127 families signed a resolution denouncing the kidnaping, assault and acts of lasciviousness inflicted on their barriomates.

According to the report, Gattaran Mayor Fruto Ilanga ordered his "posse comitatus" under George de Vera and Anastacio Valenzuela to arrest suspected supporters of the New People's Army.

Of the 15 barrio people who were arrested and beaten up, five were stripped naked, paraded at the market and otherwise humiliated.

-- In Cusipay, Sunugan, Baggao, that same province, puppet soldiers of "B" Company under Lt. Wilfredo Macanaya beat up Pedro Javier, his son Filemon and Menardo Cabana last December 8, in an effort to make them give information on the movements of the people's army in the area. The torturers got nothing from them.

The following day, the fascist troops killed Pedro Javier and two other peasants, Jose dela Cruz and Danny Salvatierra. Not content with just shooting them, Lt. Macanaya ordered their heads cut off. The heads were displayed in town.

Outraged by the atrocity, the masses confronted the puppet soldiers and demanded the heads. They were unfazed even when the soldiers fired at them. On the contrary, more people swelled the ranks of the protesting masses.

Seeing that they could not intimidate the people, the enemy relented and surrendered the heads of the victims.

Camarines Norte PC denounced

In the Bicol region, meantime, the people's protests forced Camarines Norte Gov. Fernando Pajarillo to denounce PC abuses and demanded that the entire PC command be removed from the province.

Balikwas, revolutionary newspaper in the Quezon-Bicol border area, said Pajarillo denounced the murder of civilians and acts of lasciviousness on women by PC soldiers.

He denied claims by the PC that the murder victims were members of the NPA. He said most of these were old men beyond 60 years of age.

Pajarillo also condemned the regime's practice of supposedly acting out disciplinary action on soldiers who commit crimes, only to let them loose after a few days. He mentioned the case of a lieutenant who was ascertained to have committed rape. He not only was released after a few days but was even promoted in rank.

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The enemy's acts of cruelty upon the people are not a sign of strength but of weakness. The defeats they suffer at the hands of Red fighters, the barrio militia and the revolutionary masses continuously demoralize and render them thouroughly confuse.

On the other hand, the enemy's cruelties serve to heighten the people's revolutionary fervor. They fight this oppression in various ways. They launch protest actions, pass petitions around for signature, and insist upon punishment for reactionaries who are guilty of crimes. But more than this, increasing numbers are joining the armed struggle, bearing arms and confronting all the people's enemies.

* * *

TAKING THE PART FOR THE WHOLE (OR, THIS MERLIN IS REALLY A MAGICIAN)

One of the main themes of the Lavaite revisionist clique's "anti-imperialism" is their criticism of giant U.S. imperialist corporations, which are also known today as transnational corporations, because they have branches and subsidiaries in many countries, whose economies they control.

This criticism has come out in Lavaite documents, manifestos and press releases in the Marcos-controlled media. The single, most comprehensive presentation of their views on transnational corporations is contained in an article written in 1977 by Merlin Magallona, allegedly the chairman of the Lavaite revisionist party, and entitled: "Transnational Corporations: Toward a Definition of a National Security Problem and its Resolution".

Magallona's study was sponsored by that Marcos agency which is notorious for drafting fascist laws and decrees--the U.P. Law Center--as part of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship's attempt to counter the increasing public attack and the growing literature of exposure against the imperialist transnational corporations.

In substance, the Lavaite position on this matter follows their bankrupt general political line: blame the U.S. imperialists, but spare their puppet regime. Not only spare it, but support it, as the main instrument in their "fight" against imperialism.

According to Magallona, this "social menace" (meaning, the transnational corporations) must be met by a "strong-willed program of economic independence". This program requires "a basic reorientation in the role of the State (with a capital S--how the Lavaites adore the present state!) in the national economy". Meaning to say, the "State" must "move to the center of the economy as a direct producer of goods or operator of productive industries."

What state is this Lavaite referring to? Nothing else but the present comprador-landlord state headed by the Marcos clique, which is the puppet state of U.S. imperialism in the country. This view is ridiculous, because it imagines the puppet state as an instrument in the struggle against its master, thus even going beyond the common revisionist error of regarding the state as mediator of the class struggle.

But there is more to this Lavaite distortion of the character of the present state. Further analysis will show a fundamentally mistaken view on their part about the imperialist transnational corporations, and about imperialism itself.

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Theory of "imperialism as a policy"

"Transnational corporations occupy a central place in U.S. foreign economic policy, particularly with respect to developing countries," Magalloma says, to explain what he called the "strategic link between the U.S. and its TNCs (transnational corporations)".

He goes further, making himself clearer:

"The TNCs receive the full protection of the U.S. government not only because of the traditional duty on the part of governments to afford protection to their nationals, but, more significantly, for the reason that their function abroad is integral to the position of the U.S. as a world power. The TNCs are instruments of U.S. foreign policy in keeping the developing countries within the orbit of the world capitalist economy and away from the socialist community of states...." (Underscoring ours.)

Profound words, were it not for the fact that they invert reality. While seemingly demonstrating the interaction between political power and the growth of transnational corporations, the Lavaites obscure the basic relationship between the two: U.S. foreign policy is the instrument for the global expansion of transnational corporations, of U.S. monopoly capital, and not the other way around.

This is not to say that the U.S. government does not, in turn, make use of the imperialist transnational corporations. Indeed, the latter have assisted, and continues to assist the U.S. government. But this government to which they render assistance is their government, the executive committee of the monopoly capitalist class in the United States.

The whole network of these monopoly capitalist corporations constitutes the foundation of the entire economic, political and social system of imperialism. And yet, the Lavaites declare that these corporations are only instruments of a world power's foreign policy.

The Lavaites want to fool the masses, to make them believe that there is no need to change the system. If the expansion of monopoly capitalism is taken as a mere policy, then it can be stopped, or even reversed, by a simple change in the policy of governments concerned. Why wage revolution?

After turning the reality of imperialism upside down, the next thing the Lavaites do is to cut it into pieces, detaching one part from the other parts, and from the whole.

Detaching politics from economics

Read Magalloma's version of the history of the rise and growth of imperialist transnational corporations:

"The old colonialism was defined in terms of conventional export of finished products and the acquisition of colonial markets which served at the same time as sources of raw materials for industries in the United States. This finished product-raw material exchange as the main content of international economic relations, particularly relations of colonial nature, continued up to the advent of the Second World War. The post-war world capitalist economy underwent transformation starting in the 1950s. By the 1960s, international trade became merely a function of international investments...." In brief, the world capitalist economy shifted from the export of commodities to export of capital." (Underscoring ours.)

Politics is removed from this historical account, as imperialism is interpreted from a purely economic viewpoint. There is no mention of the imperialist wars of aggression, and conquest of colonies, which the monopoly

capitalists undertook, side by side with expansion of trade and investments, to divide and redivide the whole world among themselves. By omission, the Lavaites want to make it appear that imperialism can dominate a country economically, but not politically (which in the main involves the setting up of a puppet state).

This one-sidedness and dishonesty is made clearer by Magallona's assessment of the problem of transnational corporations in the Philippines:

"The commanding presence of transnational corporations (TNCs) and their almost unrestricted operations in the key sectors of the economy define a problem that has far-reaching consequences in our future as a people."

"Our own national experience with foreign capital, shared by many developing countries of colonial background, should give a clear view that if the present policies relating to TNCs are not changed, in the next decade the economy would be annexed by the world transnational empire, with our political independence reduced to a hollow form."

In these two sentences, the Lavaite chieftain is claiming that while the economy of the Philippines is under complete imperialist control, its politics and, therefore, the state, is not.

Magallona simply ignores the truth that U.S. imperialism could not have dominated the country without suppressing the Filipino people directly, by using its own armed forces, and indirectly, by setting up a puppet state to rule in its own behalf.

Ever since U.S. imperialism reconquered the Philippines after the second world inter-imperialist war, the puppet state has been its principal instrument in dominating and controlling the country. From Roxas to Marcos, and especially under the latter's fascist dictatorship, this puppet state has facilitated the further entrenchment of U.S. monopoly capital in the Philippines.

But even from the viewpoint of economics, this Lavaite leaves many things out. He attributes the emergence of transnational corporations to one and only one factor--the "shift" of the world capitalist economy from the export of commodities to the export of capital, and fails to link them up with the crisis of imperialism in the present era.

Successors to Kautsky

Various studies show that a combination of factors, and not just one factor, is responsible for the rise of larger and larger monopolies, as exemplified by transnational corporations. These factors are as follows:

1) The sharpening of contradictions between monopolies and between imperialist countries, owing to the rapidly growing disparity in their concentration of production and capital, and development of technology;

2) The ever-increasing pressure exerted by workers in capitalist countries to raise wages;

3) The continuing shrinkage of territory available for division and redivision among the imperialist powers due to the victories won by socialist and national liberation movements in many areas of the world; and

4) The competition offered by socialist and other independent countries in the field of world trade.

The inclusion of all these factors would have shown the many-sided nature of imperialism, and the worsening crisis which afflicts it. Genuine revolutionaries would take this as further evidence of the overall ripeness of imperialism as the target of social revolution, and thus heighten their revolutionary action.

But this is exactly what the Lavaites wish to avoid. They fear revolution. They call imperialism a policy, and not a system; they separate its politics from its economics and detach the puppet state from its imperialist master, for the single purpose of confusing the masses into abandoning revolution.

This reminds us of what Lenin said, when he exposed and attacked Kautsky, the first in the line of revisionists who espoused the theory of imperialism as a policy:

"The essence of the matter is that Kautsky detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics, speaks of annexations as being a policy 'preferred' by finance capital, and opposes to it another bourgeois policy which, he alleges, is possible on this very same basis of finance capital. It follows, then, that monopolies in economics are compatible with non-monopolistic, non-violent, non-annexationist methods in politics. It follows, then, that the territorial division of the world, which was completed precisely during the epoch of finance capital, and which constitutes the basis of the present peculiar forms of rivalry between the biggest capitalist states, is compatible with a non-imperialist policy. The result is a slurring over and a blunting of the most profound contradictions of the latest stage of capitalism, instead of an exposure of their depth; the result is bourgeois reformism instead of Marxism." (Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism)

Agents of imperialism

When the Lavaites propose that the role of the "State" be "activated" to counter the imperialist transnationals, to whose favor will it redound?

Objectively, to the imperialist transnationals. Increasing the role of its puppet state will only further strengthen U.S. imperialism's hold on the economy and politics of the nation.

Subjectively, however, the Lavaites have in their minds another power--their Soviet social-imperialist mentors, who fund, nurture, and prod them to support the present state, hopefully to curb the activities of U.S. transnationals. This way, the social-imperialists can move in themselves on the Philippine economy, taking over from their U.S. imperialist rivals.

This makes the Lavaites dishonest critics of imperialism, because they would like to replace one imperialism with another--the Soviet Union's social-imperialism. No wonder they refuse to see imperialism as a whole system.

The Lavaites are not only fake anti-imperialists, but agents of imperialism themselves.

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CORRECTIONS

1. In the February 15, 1979 issue of Ang Bayan, under the heading "Iranians Need Marxist-Leninist Party to Attain Full Victory", the following sentence appears:

"While this event constitutes a major advance for the Iranian revolutionary struggle, the people's victory is far from complete."

Although this is not a major point in the article, it is nevertheless an incorrect formulation. The despised U.S.-Pahlavi fascist dictatorship has been overthrown, true, but the Iranian state continues to be in the hands of representatives of Iran's reactionary classes.

Iran's masses must persist in revolutionary struggle under a Marxist-Leninist party before finally liberating themselves from exploitation and oppression.

2. In our February 28, 1979 issue, under the heading "Working Women of the World to be Honored on March 8", the following sentence appears in the eighth paragraph: "In any society, women compromise about one-half of the population." The correct word is "comprise", not "compromise".

In the same article, eighth paragraph, "War of Resistance Against Japan (1949-45)" should read "War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45)". In the thirteenth paragraph of the same article, "pontential" should read "potential".

The Ang Bayan writing collective criticizes itself for these errors.

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